

Message Text

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MBFR:MICHE

EUR/L:HRUSSELL

PM:DCAMITTA

ACDA:HIRSCHFELD

EUR/RPM:EJSTREATOR

JCS:COLLAFFERTY

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 081134

FOLLOWING IS REPEAT STATE 081134 SENT ACTION NATO GENEVA

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS VIENNA USNMR SHAPE USDOCOSOUTH USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR DATED 20 APRIL 1974:

QTE C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 081134

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: CSCE: MILITARY ASPECTS - PROVISIONAL TEXTS

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

1. REGISTRATION IN GENEVA OF PROVISIONAL TEXTS ON

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MILITARY ASPECTS OF SECURITY MARKS SHIFT IN CONFERENCE

ACTIVITY ON THIS SUBJECT TO MORE CONCRETE PHASE IN WHICH HENCEFORTH WE WILL NEED TO ADDRESS SPECIFIC LANGUAGE RATHER THAN GENERAL CONCEPTS. MOREOVER, WE EXPECT POST-EASTER NEGOTIATIONS TO FOCUS ON FORMULATIONS SUBMITTED PRIOR TO EASTER BREAK. TO THIS END, WE OFFER BELOW COMMENTS ON VARIOUS TEXTS PROPOSED FOR PREAMBLE, PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS, EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS, PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MOVEMENTS, OTHER CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES AND GENERAL DISARMAMENT LANGUAGE. -FOR SAKE OF CLARITY, WE ARE REPEATING UNDER SUBJECT HEADING COMPLETE TEXTS AS WE HAVE THEM, FOLLOWED BY OUR COMMENTS. IN SOME INSTANCES, TEXTS BELOW CONTAIN MATERIAL SUBMITTED JUST PRIOR TO EASTER BREAK, AND THUS SIMILAR COMPLETE VERSIONS MAY NOT BE AVAILABLE TO ALL ADDRESSEES. OUR COMMENTS ARE DESIGNED TO FACILITATE

DISCUSSION BASED ON AGENDA PROPOSED FOR CBM EXPERTS MEETING AT NATO APRIL 23.

2. PREAMBLE TO CBMS. STATUS: SOVIETS HAVE RESERVED ON ALL TEXTS PROPOSED. NEVERTHELESS, WE UNDERSTAND THAT NO DELEGATION HAS SUBSTANTIVE OBJECTIONS TO THE FIRST THREE PARAGRAPHS BELOW AND THEREFORE WE EXPECT THAT CONSENSUS WOULD EMERGE ON THEM IN DUE COURSE.

3. BEGIN TEXT:

A. UK. CONSCIOUS OF THE WIDER OBJECTIVE OF PROMOTING BETTER RELATIONS AMONG THE PARTICIPATING STATES AND OF ENSURING CONDITIONS IN WHICH THEIR PEOPLE CAN LIVE IN PEACE FREE FROM ANY THREAT TO OR ATTEMPT AGAINST THEIR SECURITY.

B. NEUTRAL. DESIROUS OF ELIMINATING THE CAUSES OF TENSION THAT MAY EXIST AMONG THEM AND OF THEREFORE CONTRIBUTING TO THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE WORLD.

C. UK. REAFFIRMING THE NEED TO GIVE EFFECT TO THE PRINCIPLE OF REFRAINING FROM THE THREAT OR USE OF FORCE IN ANY MANNER INCONSISTENT WITH THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED
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NATIONS. END TEXT.
COMMENT: WE CAN ACCEPT ALL THREE PARAGRAPHS.

4. BALANCE OF UK PREAMBULAR PROPOSAL.

BEGIN TEXT:

D. HAVING IN MIND THE NEED TO REDUCE THE DANGERS OF

MISUNDERSTANDING AND MISCALCULATION OF MILITARY ACTIVITIES
AND THUS TO CONTRIBUTE TO REDUCING THE DANGERS OF MILITARY
CONFLICT IN EUROPE.

E. RECOGNIZING THAT IN CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES MILITARY
MANEUVERS AND MOVEMENTS CAN GIVE RISE TO FEARS OF A
POSSIBLE THREAT, OR USE OF FORCE.

F. CONSIDERING THAT SUCH FEARS MAY ARISE IN A SITUATION
WHERE THE PARTICIPATING STATES LACK CLEAR AND TIMELY
INDICATIONS OF EACH OTHER'S INTENTIONS.

G. CONVINCED THAT THE PROVISION OF RELEVANT INFORMATION
WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THEIR OBJECTIVE OF STRENGTHENING

CONFIDENCE AND INCREASING STABILITY AND SECURITY.

H. RECOGNIZING THAT THE EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS AT MILITARY
MANEUVERS WILL HELP TO PROMOTE CONTACT AND MUTUAL
UNDERSTANDING.

I. RECOGNIZING ALSO THAT THERE ARE OTHER WAYS IN WHICH
INDIVIDUAL STATES CAN CONTRIBUTE TO THIS COMMON OBJECTIVE.
END TEXT.

COMMENT: WE CAN ACCEPT ALL PARAGRAPHS WITH THE EXCEPTION
OF PARA E IN WHICH WE PROPOSE THAT "ACTIVITIES" BE SUB-
STITUTED FOR "MANEUVERS AND MOVEMENTS" IN LIGHT OF OUR
POSITION ON MOVEMENTS. IN ADDITION, WE BELIEVE REFERENCE
TO SECURITY IN MEDITERRANEAN SHOULD APPEAR IN PREAMBLE,
PERHAPS IN PARA D OF UK TEXT, AND NOT IN OPERATIVE TEXT.
WE SUGGEST APPROPRIATE LANGUAGE IN PARA 21, B BELOW.

5. BALANCE OF NEUTRAL PREAMBULAR PROPOSAL.
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BEGIN TEXT:

J. RECOGNIZING THAT CERTAIN MILITARY ACTIVITIES MAY CAUSE
MISUNDERSTANDING OR MAY GIVE RISE TO FEARS OF A POSSIBLE
THREAT OR USE OF FORCE, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE REALITY
OF MILITARY CAPABILITIES AMONG PARTICIPATING STATES.

K. CONVINCED THAT THE PROVISION OF RELEVANT INFORMATION
WILL STRENGTHEN CONFIDENCE AND INCREASE STABILITY AND
SECURITY IN EUROPE. END TEXT.

COMMENT: YOU SHOULD SEEK TO ELIMINATE FINAL PHRASE OF
PARAGRAPH J, READING "TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE REALITY...
AMONG PARTICIPATING STATES," WHICH COULD BE READ AS IM-
PUTING AGGRESSIVE INTENTIONS TO NATO. PARA K IS ACCEPTABLE

6. SOVIET PREAMBULAR PROPOSAL.

BEGIN TEXT:

L. CONSIDERING IT USEFUL THAT MEASURES FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN EUROPE AND MEASURES IN THE FIELD OF MILITARY DETENTE SHOULD BE MUTUALLY COMPLEMENTARY, ACCORDINGLY:

M. DEEM IT OF GREAT IMPORTANCE THAT THE STATES CONCERNED, IN THE INTERESTS OF STRENGTHENING STABILITY AND CONFIDENCE IN EUROPE.

COMMENT: WE DOUBT THAT SOVIET DRAFT OF SHORT PREAMBLE WILL SURVIVE. WE PREFER TO LEAVE IT TO FRENCH

TO RAISE RESERVATIONS, PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO REFERENCE TO "MILITARY DETENTE" TO WHICH WE UNDERSTAND THEY OBJECT.

7. SECTION I - CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES - PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANEUVERS. STATUS: SUBSTANTIAL PORTIONS OF ALL DRAFTS ARE BRACKETED AS INDICATED.

8. INTRODUCTORY PARAGRAPH.

BEGIN TEXT.

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THE PARTICIPATING STATES (NATURE OF THE OBLIGATION) GIVE PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANEUVERS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE FOLLOWING PROVISIONS: END TEXT.
COMMENT: WE CAN ACCEPT PARAGRAPH AS LONG AS NATURE OF OBLIGATION IS VOLUNTARY, E.G., READS "DECLARE THEIR INTENTION TO," OR "EXPRESS THEIR FIRM INTENTION TO," AS US EARLIER PROPOSED TO ALLIES. THIS CAVEAT REGARDING NATURE OF OBLIGATION APPLIES THROUGHOUT THIS MESSAGE. IN THIS CONNECTION, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR USDEL GENEVA TO MEET PRIVATELY WITH SOVIET DELEGATION TO EXPLAIN LEGAL PROBLEM CONCERNING NATURE OF OBLIGATION DESCRIBED STATE 49886, AND SEEK SOVIET SUPPORT. IN MEANTIME, USDEL GENEVA, USNATO AND AMEMBASSY LONDON SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE GUIDED BY STATE 049886, AND TO URGE BRITISH AND OTHERS TO SUPPORT ABOVE FORMULATIONS ON OBLIGATION.

9. SIZE AND CATEGORY OF FORCES, DEFINITION OF MANEUVER.

A. UK TEXT. IN THIS CONTEXT, THE TERM "MILITARY MANEUVER" MEANS (ACTIVITY BY TROOPS TOGETHER WITH ANY

POSSIBLE AIR OR NAVAL COMPONENTS) IN WHICH ANY PARTICIPATING STATE IS INVOLVED. IN SAME CONTEXT, THE TERM "MAJOR" MEANS (THE EQUIVALENT OF ONE DIVISION OR MORE).

COMMENT: YOU SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE GUIDED BY STATE 016559; WE WILL PROVIDE FURTHER GUIDANCE IN DUE COURSE.

B. NEUTRAL TEXT. IN THIS CONTEXT THE TERM "MILITARY

MANEUVER" MEANS (TRAINING UNDER SIMULATED WAR-LIKE CONDITIONS WITH WAR-ORGANIZED UNITS SINGLY OR COMBINED, THE ARMY, NAVY OR AIR FORCE) IN WHICH ANY PARTICIPATING STATE IS INVOLVED. IN SAME CONTEXT THE TERM "MAJOR" MEANS (THE EQUIVALENT TO THE OPERATIONAL STRENGTH OF ONE REINFORCED ARMY DIVISION OR 18,000 SOLDIERS OR MORE, COMBINED MULTINATIONAL FORCES AT ANY LEVEL, OR ONE AIRBORNE DIVISION OR AMPHIBIOUS FORCES OF ONE BRIGADE OR MORE.) (THE PARTICIPATING STATES MAY ALSO NOTIFY EUROPEAN STATES NEAR THE AREA OF ACTIVITY OF SMALLER SCALE MILITARY

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MANEUVERS.) COMMENT: WE PREFER TO HOLD TO BASIC POSITION CONTAINED STATE 016559 AND STATE 37815. LATTER MESSAGE STATES, "WITH REGARD TO THE THRESHOLD QUESTION IN PRACTICAL AND NUMERICAL T

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